

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 220715 TOSEC 260117

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FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM BROWN (S/PRS)

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: KAUFMAN ARTICLE ON RHODESIA

NO. 11

FOLLOWING ARE KEY PARAGRAPHS OF ARTICLE BY MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN, NEW YORK TIMES NAIROBI CORRESPONDENT, DATELINED JOHANNESBURG AND CARRIED IN NEW YORK TIMES SEPTEMBER 5:

"AS OF NOW THE MAJOR OBSTACLE CONFRONTING THE UNITED STATES AND BRITISH PLAN FOR PEACE AND EVENTUAL MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA IS THAT NEITHER THE REGIME OF IAN SMITH, RHODESIA'S PRIME MINISTER, NOR THE FACTIONALIZED BLACK RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS SHOWS ANY SIGN OF ACCEPTING IT.

STILL, AS THE NUMBER OF PERSONS KILLED INCREASES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE RHODESIAN WAR, SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER HAS JOURNEYED THIS WEEKEND TO ZURICH FOR HIS SECOND ROUND OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER JOHN B. VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE MEN WILL TALK OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA, WHICH IS ALSO CALLED NAMIBIA,
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PAGE 02 STATE 220715 TOSEC 260117

AND OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID DEMONSTRATIONS HERE, BUT

ALMOST CERTAINLY THE BURDEN OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS WILL BE RHODESIA AND THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN, THE ONLY MAJOR

PROPOSAL VISIBLE THAT MIGHT HEAD OFF WIDENING RACIAL CONFLICT AND STEM THE POTENTIAL FOR GREAT POWER CLASHES IN THE AREA.

SIMILARLY, A MEETING IN TANZANIA OF BLACK HEADS OF STATE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ALSO IS UNDER WAY AND WHETHER TO SUPPORT THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE THE MAIN TOPIC.

IN SUMMARY THE PROPOSAL PROVIDES FOR A TWO-YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD DURING WHICH CONSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY WILL BE SET UP TO INCORPORATE THE COUNTRY'S SIX MILLION DISENFRANCHISED BLACKS INTO FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. AT THE SAME TIME, INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES WILL BE ESTABLISHED TO PROTECT THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF THE ECONOMICALLY DOMINANT 270,000 WHITES. PRIME MINISTER SMITH HAS REJECTED THESE PROPOSALS...

WHAT FOLLOWS THEN IS HOW BLACK AFRICAN OBSERVERS AND WESTERN DIPLOMATS PERCEIVE MR. KISSINGER'S IDEAL SCENARIO: MR. VORSTER AGREES QUIETLY TO SEVER OR REDUCE RHODESIAN CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. MR. SMITH, SEEING NO ALTERNATIVE, AGREES TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH. THE BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS LIMIT THEIR ASSISTANCE TO THE GUERRILLAS AND RALLY TO A SINGLE FIGURE, PRESUMABLY JOSHUA NKOMO, WHO, IT IS REPORTED, HAS BOTH RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN SUPPORT. A TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IS WORKED OUT, CALLING FOR PERHAPS LESS THAN TWO YEARS TO GET IT DONE. MINORITY RIGHTS ARE GUARANTEED. SOUTH AFRICA, DESPITE ITS SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES, GAINS CREDIBILITY IN BLACK AFRICA, BRITAIN SALVAGES SOME HONOR AFTER PERMITTING RHODESIA'S BREAKAWAY TO GO ON FOR 11 YEARS AND PREVENTS A DOMESTIC KITH-AND-KIN CRISIS THAT WOULD CERTAINLY OCCUR IF THE RHODESIAN WAR WIDENED. THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE DIMINISHED THE PROSPECTS OF GLOBAL CONFLICT IN THE AREA AND WILL HAVE WON CREDIT IN BLACK AFRICA FOR BUILDING BRIDGES. THE LOSING

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 220715 TOSEC 260117

NATIONALIST FACTIONS WILL BE KEPT IN CHECK BY THE NEIGHBORING LEADERS AND A TRIBAL CIVIL WAR IN A BLACK RULED RHODESIA WILL BE AVOIDED.

WILL IT ACTUALLY WORK OUT THAT WAY? THERE ARE TOO MANY VARIABLES INVOLVED FOR EITHER CERTAINTY OR OPTIMISM. AS ONE OBSERVER HERE SAID, "KISSINGER, VORSTER, SMITH AND THE BLACK LEADERS ARE ALL DANCING ON COBWEBS. HOW

MUCH LONGER THEY STAY UP IS ANYBODY'S GUESS, BUT I THOUGHT
THE COBWEBS WOULD HAVE BROKEN MONTHS AGO." ROBINSON

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